

## Message Text

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TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT CARL T. ROWAN OP-ED COLUMN, FRIDAY,  
NOVEMBER 29, WASHSTAR, HEADED "A GRAIN OF SALT."

2. AMERICANS OUGHT TO BE A BIT SKEPTICAL ABOUT GLOWING  
TALK OF A "BREAKTHROUGH" AND AGREEMENT TO "PUT A CAP ON THE  
ARMS RACE" DURING THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETING OF PRESIDENT FORD  
AND SOVIET BOSS LEONID BREZHNEV.

3. EVEN THOUGH IT IS SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER  
WHO IS CLAIMING MAJOR STRIDES TOWARD LIMITING OFFENSIVE  
NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WE WOULD DO WELL TO TAKE IT ALL WITH A  
GRAIN OF SALT. AND THE PUN IS INTENDED, FOR THE VLADIVOS-  
TOK COMMUNIQUE MAY YET HAVE LITTLE RESEMBLANCE TO WHAT CAN  
BE ACHIEVED IN NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA.

4. NOT THAT I ACCUSE KISSINGER OR PRESIDENT FORD OF  
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DELIBERATELY MISLEADING AMERICANS. BUT AS AN OLD "JOINT COMMUNIQUE" WRITER, I KNOW THAT POLITICIANS ARE INCLINED TO INDULGE IN A BIT OF HYPERBOLE TO KEEP ALIVE THE NOTION THAT THEY ARE ABOUT TO ACHIEVE MAN'S MOST ELUSIVE GOAL: PEACE.

5. TO PUT VLADIVOSTOK IN A REASONABLE PERSPECTIVE, WE ALL

MUST REMEMBER THREE FACTORS:

A. THE DOMINANT GROUP IN THE KREMLIN HAS TOO MUCH INVESTED IN "DETENTE," OR A WARMUP OF RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, TO SEE THIS MOVEMENT COLLAPSE. FEARS GENERATED BOTH BY SOVIET TROUBLES WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND BY THE UNITED STATES' FRIENDLIER RELATIONS WITH CHINA ARE A CRUCIAL REASON WHY BREZHNEV HAD TO "HIT IT OFF" WITH FORD. THE SOVIETS' DESIRE AND NEED FOR BROADER TRADE AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH THIS COUNTRY IS ANOTHER REASON.

A1. THE NIXON TRIP TO RUSSIA IN JUNE PRODUCED NEXT TO NOTHING, BUT THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED SOVIET MEDIA CROWD FOR WEEKS ABOUT WHAT A "SUCCESS" IT WAS. TO CONCEDE ANY MEASURE OF FAILURE THEN WAS UNTHINKABLE FOR THE RUSSIANS, AND YOU HAD BETTER BELIEVE THAT THIS ATTITUDE LIES BEHIND SOME OF THE ROSY TALK COMING OUT OF VLADIVOSTOK.

B. PRESIDENT FORD, AN ANNOUNCED CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY IN 1976, SIMPLY MUST PROVE THAT HE IS CAPABLE OF HANDLING GREAT AND DELICATE ISSUES OF WORLD AFFAIRS. HE MUST BE ACUTELY AWARE THAT, WHILE TRYING TO SAVE HIS OWN HIDE, FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON FREQUENTLY CAST PRIVATE SLURS ABOUT WHAT A DISASTER FORD WOULD BE IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH BREZHNEV AND OTHER WORLD LEADERS. SO FORD WAS IN VLADIVOSTOK TO TRY TO PROVE THAT THE "GENERATION OF PEACE" DID NOT VANISH JUST BECAUSE NIXON, THE MAN WHO BILLED HIMSELF AS "THE ARCHITECT," HAD TO RESIGN IN SCANDAL.

B1. OF COURSE, VLADIVOSTOK DOES NOT PROVE ANYTHING ABOUT UNCLASSIFIED

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FORD'S FOREIGN POLICY EXPERTISE--NOT ANY MORE THAN SUMMITS IN PEKING AND MOSCOW PROVED NIXON TO BE AN ARCHITECT OF PEACE, OR HENRY KISSINGER TO BE SUPERMAN. WE MAY LAUD ALL THREE FOR FOREIGN POLICY GAINS, BUT WE MUST KEEP IN MIND THE REALITY THAT THEY ARE MANIPULATING, EXPLOITING, CAPITALIZING ON WORLDWIDE DEVELOPMENTS THAT THEY DIDN'T CREATE, BUT JUST HAPPENED TO FALL THEIR WAY--SUCH AS THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT.

C. IT IS AN ALMOST-UNBREAKABLE RULE OF DIPLOMACY THAT TWO MAJOR CHIEFS OF STATE MUST NEVER GO TO THE SUMMIT WITHOUT AT LEAST APPEARING TO ACHIEVE SOMETHING HISTORIC. THAT IS WHY YOU NEVER SEE JOINT COMMUNIQUE WRITERS IN UNEMPLOYMENT LINES.

C1. AT FIRST GLANCE, THE STORIES OUT OF VLADIVOSTOK

APPEAR TO REFLECT MORE THAN COSMETICS, MORE THAN THE SLICK PUBLIC RELATIONS THAT IS SO EASY WHEN DIPLOMATS TALK ABOUT MIRVS, "EQUAL AGGREGATES" OR LAND-BASED AND SUBMARINE-BASED MISSILES, OR "FORWARD-BASED SYSTEMS"-- MATTERS THE PUBLIC AND MOST OF THE PRESS KNOW NOTHING ABOUT ANYHOW.

C2. BUT WE WON'T KNOW HOW TIGHT A CAP THEY'VE SCREWED ON THE ARMS RACE UNTIL WE SEE FUTURE MILITARY BUDGETS. THE U.S. AND RUSSIA BLEW A THOUSAND BILLION DOLLARS ON ARMS IN THE 1960S. THEY SEEM DETERMINED TO WASTE TWO TRILLION, OR TWO THOUSAND BILLION DOLLARS IN THE 1970S.

C3. I'LL BE THE FIRST TO ADMIT TO SHAMEFUL CYNICISM IF VLADIVOSTOK PRODUCES EVEN A NOTICEABLE REDUCTION IN THE SUICIDAL SQUANDERING OF THIS PLANET'S RESOURCES ON GHASTLY VEHICLES OF DESTRUCTION.

C4. BUT UNTIL I SEE THAT REDUCTION, PARDON MY SKEPTICISM.  
(END TEXT) INGERSOLL

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